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of the district head would have been unnecessary; but very frequently he acts as *mukhumedi* in these cases.

Hu khumelwa is the only proper initial procedure in cases of damage to crops. The owner of the cattle is called to see the damage, begs pardon with a goat, and is told to strengthen his cattle kraal. If depredations continue, he may be taken to the *khɔrɔ*. To omit the preliminary procedure of *hu khumelwa* is not necessarily fatal, but is regarded as being revengeful and nothing is abhorred more than revenge. If the man whose crops are damaged refuses reconciliation and makes the owner of the cattle 'pay' instead of allowing *hu khumelwa*, the owner will, it is said, seek an opportunity to revenge himself, and the saying that applies is: 'It is the blow that follows, not the first blow, that hurts.' The saying is, however, of general application and is invoked in regard to any injury or wrong. Practice differs in the various districts as regards *hu khumelwa* for damage to crops, and when a man is resident in one district and has his fields in another, very interesting conflicts of jurisdiction and law sometimes occur, but we cannot stop to consider them.

After formal complaint—that is, after a case is 'in the *khɔrɔ*'—*hu khumelwa* may, according to the circumstances, either end the matter or be treated as a confession of guilt (*duma muladu*) by plaintiff or *khɔrɔ*. *Duma muladu* is a term used also outside the *khɔrɔ*. If the owner of cattle continues to be careless after several warnings, he may find that his goat of reconciliation will be regarded, not as a goat of begging pardon, but as a confession of guilt, and the victim will exact what he considers to be the real damage. To accept pardon stops *khɔrɔ* proceedings, and if after *duma muladu* the culprit makes good what the victim demands there also can be no *khɔrɔ* trial; but if he does not, the offer of pardon is a confession, not conceived as having been made without prejudice, but admissible in evidence. More often *duma muladu* refers to a goat which the defendant offers in the *khɔrɔ* in settlement and apology. The circumstances, especially the attitude of the plaintiff and the previous history of the case, will then determine whether the matter ends there. The *khɔrɔ* may say, 'This is your *duma muladu*; now pay the ox which in our [or the plaintiff's] opinion fits the offence.'

Examples of *duma muladu* are difficult to give as a long history is involved and, to understand them, we should have to refer to details of the culture which are not dealt with in this book. But it may be possible to simplify for presentation here the case of *Mabula* v. *Magɔsha*, though it lasted six months in the *khɔrɔ* of the capital alone. These two women were co-wives of Khidai and were entangled in one of those polygons of jealousies arising in polygyny which are the counterpart of the eternal triangles of our monogamy. The co-wives quarrelled and fought about their extra-marital lovers, and Magɔsha bit Mabula on the lip. When the wound refused to yield to treatment it was said to be due to the 'bad teeth' of Magɔsha, who, it was suspected, must be a *leshɔga*, a person who had been allowed to live though her upper teeth had appeared before the lower. Having vainly appealed to her husband to order Magɔsha's teeth to be scraped for medicine, Mabula complained to her parents. After much manœuvring in order to avoid being drawn into the conflict,

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[827] internal snake believed to be intimately bound up with fecundity and
842 childbirth. Every one is said to have a snake in his stomach. It is not a
real snake, yet it is conceived of as having a head and of being able to
753 crawl up to a man's neck (causing what we call indigestion) and running
back again when he coughs. When a person has stomach-ache it is often
said, 'The snake is biting,' while dysentery is referred to as 'red' or
'white snake', according to the stage of the disease. The most important
function of this snake, and one that forms a common subject of conversa-
842 tion in connection with barrenness, is, however, its reproductive one. It is
believed that semen comes from a man's snake; if his snake is 'no good',
a child will not be born. The snake of a woman is sometimes identified
with the womb and for conception it is necessary that this snake should
accept the semen. There are two possibilities which prevent conception:
either the snake's head may be wrongly oriented or it may catch up the
semen, but spit it out again. In the first case the remedy is to 'turn
round' its head by medical treatment, in which very often the womb of a
scapegoat is used. In the second case, since the snake rejects the semen
unless the bloods of husband and wife agree and the snake of the man
may be as much at fault as that of the woman, it is usual to include both
husband and wife in treatment for barrenness. If six to nine months
elapse after marriage without conception having taken place, steps are at
once taken to set the matter right.

826 Though the Lovedu have no knowledge of the circulation of the blood,
753 they assign to it properties which lie at the basis of their medical theory.
Blood is so generally believed to be the root of most ills that a Native
describing his symptoms always says, 'I am pierced by blood.' Rheuma-
tism, stiffness after exercise, a pain or swelling in any part of the body,
is attributed to blood that has collected there or blood which is 'boiling',
making the body hot and feverish. Swellings of all kinds, including
goitre, are therefore always cupped to get rid of surplus blood, and blood-
letting as a cure for headache and other ills is as popular with the Lovedu
as it was in Europe not so long ago. The beating of the heart is not
827 believed to be continuous: it is associated with sudden fright and with
illness; but, though it is known that often the heart beats loudly when one
is not ill, they have no idea why it should do so. Veins contain blood, but
go by the same name as sinews and muscles, all of which are believed to
give strength to the body. Occasionally, though infrequently, individuals
are to be found who have other ideas. Thus David, a Christian who has
often worked in towns and has a mind of his own, has his own theory as
to the function of the heart, a deduction from his observations on dying
fowls. He believes that the heart beats, not to circulate, but to exclude
the blood, and the moment the heart stops beating the blood enters it,
causing death to the fowl or person.

753 A considerable list of terms for different diseases indicates that distinc-
tions are recognized, but it is easy to be misled into believing that the
Natives' knowledge is greater than it really is. Some terms are peculiarly
Native without any corresponding category among us, but many, like small-
pox, measles, mumps, fever, consumption, migraine, syphilis, epilepsy,
show appreciation of causes or symptoms which fit into our scheme of

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753 constitute an exhaustive list, and their application extends over a wide field, which we might call the magico-religious.

Murudi (shadow) is conceived of as an evil power, but of its many properties the most emphasized is the property of aggravating disease. It is as if certain real evils cast a shadow which may infect those upon which it falls. If they are normal, healthy people, generally speaking they suffer no discomfort themselves, but they may act as carriers of the shadow, and by contact with others, especially those who are ill, they may transmit the evil as if they were intermediary hosts, weakening the patient and aggravating his illness. The host may transmit the shadow to both persons and things. A person who has attended a funeral or who has lost a close relative is infected by the shadow of death. Twins have [845] such great shadow that if they come near a sick person he will die: hence twins must be killed and are still generally killed, despite European law and the example of Christians to whose grown-up twins no specific evil can be attributed. A woman who has had a miscarriage has *muridi*. [843] Pregnancy up to but not after the end of the third month infects a woman with *muridi*, for a clear distinction is drawn between the two stages of pregnancy: before the end of the third month the foetus is amorphous, not a human being; after it, the foetus takes human form, the woman 'has grown', and a miscarriage is regarded as a death, so that people come to condole and there is a mourning period ended by the [removal of] 'dirt' rite (*khitshila*), just as for the most important adult. After childbirth a woman has *muridi*, but this is not the reason for her isolation. She remains in the hut till her child is strengthened, lest she bring to it shadows from outside. Girls over puberty and non-suckling, childbearing women, though having no definite *muridi*, are a potential source of danger to the sick, and men have not infrequently refused to allow us to wash their wounds with water drawn by such women. It is not at all clear, however, whether it is menstruation that is feared or the danger of possible early pregnancy. Sexual intercourse between husband and wife brings about a [832] mild form of *muridi*; hence, if a very young child is ill, husband and wife 843] sometimes abstain from intercourse. *Muridi* from sexual intercourse is believed to affect the meat of slaughtered cattle or goats unless certain precautions are taken, and causes stomach trouble to those who partake of it. Men who are sleeping with their wives are therefore not allowed to approach a slaughtered animal before its stomach has been pierced or to help skin it without first smearing their hands with leaves of *thcebe* (*Amaranthus Thunbergi*) or other medicine. Here again, so it seems, the danger is not the actual intercourse, but the possibility of an unformed foetus in the womb. Thus, in the early stages of his wife's pregnancy, Nagambi was forbidden to approach slaughtered animals, but later, when pregnancy was advanced, the restriction fell away, even though he was still cohabiting with his wife.

753 A person whose upper teeth appear before the lower or whose molars 826 appear first is full of *muridi* and should be killed. In the area surrounding the royal village every child is brought to the queen for examination on the appearance of its first teeth. The mother carries with her a small basket of eleusine and, if all is well, it is said that the child has 'danced

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with joy' (*u pebedz*); if not, there are no ululations of joy and, though to-day the child is allowed to live, it must be treated by a doctor. When several children have been brought, beer must be made by their mothers for the older women, the queen attends, and there is much joy. If a person whose teeth have appeared in the wrong order is not killed, he is called a *leshega*. He must be most careful never to bite any one, for the wound will not respond to healing treatment. But it is believed that matter taken from the teeth of the *leshega* may be applied as an antidote. It will be remembered that in the case of *Mabula* v. *Magasha* the parents of a *leshega* who had bitten her co-wife were ordered to beg pardon and to allow the 'scraping' of the teeth of their daughter. They had denied that she was a *leshega*, but the court decided that, *leshega* or not, neither she nor they could refuse something that might help the wound.

Muridi is, on the whole, dangerous, not to its primary intermediary host, but to others. Its source is conceived to be usually a person, but it may also be places, such as cross-roads and large rivers which become infected owing to the number of people crossing them. Nor is all *muridi* equally dangerous. Precautions are taken to protect the sick against its influence; a sick person is smeared with medicine or a stick is placed to bar entrance to his hut, its warning against entering without permission being a function also of the stick barring the door of the hut of a new-born child. Allied to but not the same as *muridi* are *leridi* (monstrous shadow) and *letala* (sinister spoor, the word for an ordinary track being *mutala*). A warrior who has killed an enemy has *leridi* and, unless purified, he stands in grave danger of becoming mad or extremely quarrelsome (one of the worst social sins). If two men have had sexual relations with the same woman and one of them is ill, the other must on no account come near lest his track (*letala*) cause him to die. Similarly, the husband's mistress should take care to remain away from the hut of his wife when she is ill or in childbirth.

Makhuma, from *hu khuma*, to mix together, is a conception similar to *muridi*, but the evil, a kind of illness, infects the immediate host, who cannot transmit it to others. Critical changes especially constitute the source of the evil which mingles with or contaminates or infects the person who has just undergone the change or who, in the case of death, comes into contact with its baleful emanations. In all the initiations strengthening medicine is given the novices as an antidote to the *makhuma* to which they are subject after the initiation: for instance, the initiates in the boys' circumcision lodge are given black medicine just before the change from west to east to protect them from being injured (*hu khuma*) after entering the ordinary world. One may *khuma* if, after an absence from home during which a death has occurred, one eats food without some precautionary measure, such as chewing a piece of ant heap (*khithoni*). The treatment given after a death is chiefly to prevent the onset of *hu khuma* among relatives. A woman who has lost a child will cause her next child to *khuma* if she allows it to drink before her breasts have been doctored. Cattle may *khuma* after a death in the village or if women enter the kraal, and measures to fortify them are always taken

[See cat. 116, pp. 195-96 -- Analysis]

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753 after the funeral. *Makhuma* also affects possessed people who fail to use their powdered medicine with the first-fruits.

Though usually associated with the stomach, the symptoms of *makhuma* are not very definite, diagnosis being chiefly *ex post facto*. If one child has died, any illness its successor might have, even beating of the fontanelle, is liable to be attributed to *makhuma*. After the miscarriage of Madume's wife, Dwagu, a non-related inmate of the same village, did not trouble to be purified when the doctor came; but when, shortly afterwards, his stomach became upset, he immediately attributed it to *makhuma* and hastened to take medicine for its removal.

[787] The conception of *khuma* has been extended into other fields. Divining bones *khuma* at the end of each month as well as when used to divine about a death, and must be washed in medicine before being used again. [789] Similarly the rain charms of the queen are liable to *khuma* (or *figkcla*) unless given the first-fruits and the first termites of the year to 'bite' (*luma*) before any one else in the royal area eats them, as also when certain people neglect certain observances, such as burial in wet soil of infants dying before their teeth have appeared. *Hu khuma* of the rain charms has serious consequences, causing drought throughout the country. That Christians do not observe these regulations has as little effect on the rain as when Europeans do not conform.

753 826 *Hu fesa*, or the state of being 'hot', is a conception far wider than *muridi* or *makhuma* and is the antithesis of the condition of coolness which is conceived of as healthy, propitious, or right. The properties of this 'heat', which may be caused in a variety of ways, are not unlike physical heat. Bodily illness, even *muridi*, causes the blood to be 'hot' or to be 'boiling' and may be treated by 'cooling' the body: thus the *khitshila* ceremony, which removes the 'dirt' of death, also 'cools' people. The hair of near relatives is shaved with medicine and put in a wet place or in certain kinds of drought-resisting plants. But it is usually the source of the 'heat', not the 'heat' itself, the symptom of the disease, that is treated, though both may be dealt with. The blood of a woman in certain conditions—for example, after an abortion—is said to 'burn', she has (or is) *lesua* (great burning), and the man who has sexual intercourse with her also 'burns', but whether it is because the 'heat' is conducted to him or because of the disease, *ɗere* (coughing illness) or urethritis, which he contracts, is by no means clear. The treatment is directed at the disease in him, not towards counteracting the 'heat'. Often after steaming a patient, a river stone is pressed against all joints of the body and then taken back to the river, a treatment in which we may discern an attempt to 'cool', though it also contains the conception of 'throwing out'.

821 766 Since heat withers the vegetation and causes drought, it is opposed to rain. Precautions must therefore be taken against whatever is thought to cause the country to be hot and dry. A man succumbing to *ɗere*, a person struck by lightning, a woman dying in childbirth, and the foetus of a miscarriage—all these must be buried in wet soil or with rain medicine if the country is to be kept 'cool' and the rains are to fall. Coolness connotes rightness. Charms protecting the village against witches are 754 sometimes called *mahɔthɔjɔ*, because they *rɔthɔja* (cause to be cool,

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not a real or mystical shadow in our sense of the term, but an evil and contagious force conceptualized, on the analogy of a shadow, as an invisible counterpart of certain conditions. The sources of 'shadow' are such conditions or events as death, activities connected with human reproduction, including sex intercourse, the early stages of pregnancy, birth of twins, miscarriage (regarded as death), women during confinement, irregular appearance of the teeth, e.g. upper incisor before lower or molar before incisor. 'Shadow' is accordingly connected with many of the same kind of irregularities as generate 'heat', but it appears to be differentiated as an independent concept for the purpose of dealing with its effects on the health of people who are peculiarly susceptible to defilement.

Precautions are taken to protect the sick against the influence of *muridi*. A sick person is smeared with medicines or quarantined like a new-born child by means of a medicated stick placed across the entrance to his hut to warn off carriers of 'shadow' and counteract the 'shadow' of anyone unaware of his condition. If there is an epidemic in a village and the general vitality and resistance consequently are lowered, people may be told to refrain from sex intercourse lest *muridi* make the illness worse. In the smallpox epidemic of 1938 people cohabiting were said to have the disease in a worse form than others. When a child is ill, its parents refrain from sex intercourse. A warrior who slept with his wife the night before battle would be easy prey to the enemy. A man sleeping with his wife may not approach a slaughtered animal before its stomach has been pierced nor help skin it without first smearing his hands with (usually cooling) medicine, lest *muridi* affect the meat and cause stomach trouble (*makhuma*) to those eating it. Children whose teeth appear irregularly (*leskga*) are full of *muridi* and were killed in the old days. But today they are treated by a doctor and have to be careful never to bite others, for the wound will not heal and there is always difficulty in obtaining the necessary antidote, namely, scrapings from the teeth of the *leskga*. Cross-roads and river fords are secondary sources of *muridi* since the 'shadow' carried by unsuspecting hosts infects these places. For this reason pregnant women are not supposed to go on long journeys from home.

Muridi is a much more limited concept than 'heat'; it is invoked mainly to account for the aggravation of illness or the susceptibility to illness or other injury of persons contacting defilement. It does not affect the country generally, and it furnishes an alternative to witchcraft as an explanation of the aggravation of ailments or the failure of illnesses to yield to ordinary remedies.

Muridi in a more virulent form is called *leridi* (ominous or menacing shadow), which infects a warrior who has killed an enemy and who is in grave danger of becoming mad or very quarrelsome unless purified. An allied concept is that of *letala* (sinister track) derived from the idea that, if a woman is cohabiting with two men one of whom gets ill, the track of the other, should he approach near or within earshot of the sick person, will